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VOLUME 36

OCTOBER 1948

NUMBER 4

Famous Hogarths In America

By R. B. BECKETT, London

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Hogarth As Illustrator

By ROBERT E. MOORE

University of Minnesota

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R. B. BECKETT first began to study the works of Hogarth while still an undergraduate at Oxford. His studies were interrupted for some time by his residence in India, where he became a Judge of the High Court at Lahore; but on his retirement from the bench he returned to his former interests and has since been specializing on the history of early painting in England, principally on portraiture from the time of Van Dyck to that of Hogarth, and on landscape-painting which shows the influence of Richard Wilson. He is now engaged in producing a *catalogue raisonné* of Hogarth's paintings, to be published by Messrs. Routledge and Kegan Paul, in which it is hoped to reproduce as many as possible of the pictures which have survived.

His published works include other periodical articles on the work of Hogarth, Wilson, and Turner; and he hopes before long to make a similar study of the works of Sir Peter Lely, for which he is already collecting material. He has also done work on Moghal painting of the 17th century. His novel *The Story of Hassan* (published under the name of John Anthony) appeared in America in 1929.

ROBERT E. MOORE has been instructor in English at Yale (after taking his doctorate there in 1943), and is now assistant professor of English at the University of Minnesota. His book, *Hogarth's Literary Relationships*, is coming out in October, published by the University of Minnesota Press. It is devoted largely to Hogarth's influence upon Smollett and particularly Fielding. He is at present working on the relationship of Sir Joshua Reynolds' *Discourses* to English poetry of the eighteenth century.



ART IN AMERICA

Business Office: 11 Andrew Street, Springfield 9, Mass.

Subscription price to *Art in America* is \$6.00 per year; single copies, \$1.50. Foreign subscriptions, 40 cents extra. Published quarterly — January, April, July and October.

Manuscripts and books for review should be addressed to the Editor, Weston Road, Cannondale, Connecticut. Unsolicited manuscripts or photographs should be accompanied by return postage. *Art in America* assumes no responsibility for loss or damage of such material.

Subscriptions, advertising, and all other business communications should be addressed to the Springfield office. Advertising rates upon request.

On Sale in These Cities: New York, Wittenborn & Co., and Brentano's; Philadelphia, Wanamaker's; Pasadena, A. C. Vroman; Boston, Goodspeed's Book Shop.

Entered as second-class matter April 28, 1936, at the post office at Springfield, Mass., under the act of March 3, 1879.

Famous Hogarths In America

By R. B. BECKETT
London

I

PORTRAIT GROUPS

THE number of paintings by Hogarth is not so large as might be expected: possibly not more than five hundred in all, though an exact estimate would be hard to make. While he lived for well over half a century, it has to be remembered that he made a late start, having begun his working life as an engraver; and for this reason his output is rather comparable with that of more precocious artists who started earlier, but ended sooner. At once industrious and wayward by temperament, he tended to work by sudden spurts, devoting his immense energies in the intervals to controversy, philanthropy, and the development of his own aesthetic theory.

On the other hand, the number of paintings which have been attributed to him is very great. Indeed, there was a time in the 19th century when the true Hogarth seemed to be in danger of becoming merged in a sort of composite portrait of the mediocre painters of his age; and he has had to be patiently disinterred, as it were, in more recent times. The tendency both ways can be seen reflected in America, where the last century had many features in common with the period in England of the Grand Tour, resulting in an influx of works that did no great credit to the master to whom they were accredited. In the present century, the tendency towards more discriminating buying is — to an art-historian — very noticeable: with the result that there is now spread across the States a representative collection of paintings undoubtedly by Hogarth, from which a fair estimate of his merits can be made.

The aim of the present brief series of articles is not to attempt any such estimate, but rather to try to fix the paintings now in America within a rough framework of the development of Hogarth's art. For this purpose they will be divided into three sections: portrait-groups (nearly, though not exactly, corresponding with the works now popularly known as "conversation-pieces"), single portraits, and the miscellaneous class of which his moral satires are the best known. These are more or less the lines along which his art, at different times, diverged. But first the preliminary facts must be shortly recapitulated.

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Hogarth did not enter an art school till 1720, when he was twenty-three, and he did so only in order to improve his drawing as an engraver. It was not until several years later, when George II came to the throne, that he began to emerge as a painter in oils. He then attracted attention by his depiction of two notable events: the original stage representation of that popular success, *The Beggar's Opera*, in 1727/28, and a parliamentary enquiry into malpractices at the Fleet Prison in 1729/30. These were not intended for portraiture in the ordinary sense — indeed, we know that the latter was intended only as material for a popular print — but they contained portraits of living characters, and had within them the seeds of his later work. Early in 1730, according to our present calendar, he married; and to meet the expenses of this new venture, he tells us, he took to painting portrait-groups in miniature: “families,” “conversations,” or “assemblies,” according to their composition — a new fashion which quickly caught on and brought him immediate success.

This, the first regular phase of Hogarth's work in oils, which did not begin until he was over thirty, is well represented by the *Assembly at Wanstead House* (Fig. 1), which passed to the Philadelphia Museum of Art from the John H. McFadden collection.¹ It was, as we know from Hogarth's own notes, ordered in 1729 by a member of the famous Child banking family, then Lord Castlemaine, afterwards Earl Tylney; but it was still unfinished at the beginning of 1731. Painted on a medium-sized canvas, 25½ by 30 inches, it is crowded with twenty-five figures (twenty-six, if you count the man lighting the chandeliers), showing Lord and Lady Castlemaine at home for an evening gathering of their family and neighbors. It is probably this painting to which Joseph Mitchell was referring when he wrote in his *Epistle to Hogarth*, having seen it while it was still on the easel:

“Large Families obey your Hand;
Assemblies rise at your Command.”²

Such a work may serve to explain why Hogarth looked upon the painting of these conversation-pieces as so much drudgery, which did not even fulfil the desired end of meeting his expenses, and which he was glad to abandon when money began to come in from prints. We do not know exactly how much he was paid for such works; but we know that payment

¹For the earlier history of the picture, see *Art in America*, 1913, I, pp. 104-7. The picture has been confused by J. B. Nichols and Dobson with quite different works, and was at one time known as *The Wandsworth Assembly*.

²*Three Poetical Epistles*, London, 1731: but the epistle to Hogarth is dated June 12th, 1730. The “Large Family” is probably *The Wollaston Family*, a similar composition, on which Hogarth was at work at the same time.



Fig. 1. HOGARTH: ASSEMBLY AT WANSTEAD HOUSE
Philadelphia Museum of Art

was made at so much per head (children in arms not counted).³ If each of the principal figures was expected to be a finished likeness, as it presumably was, it can be easily seen why the painting took so long to complete; and the remuneration for the expenditure of so much time and energy was probably not very great. }

Much more might be written about this painting, as typifying the artistic patronage of the period, and so on; but I shall confine myself to drawing attention to a typically Hogarthian detail. Childless himself, Hogarth was devoted to children; and though his older characters may be stiff and dignified, he generally portrays their offspring in the exercise of some youthful prank. It was usual to introduce favourite domestic animals, dogs or cats, into these conversation-pieces; but it is characteristic of Hogarth that he should have shown the younger Child boy riding on a large wooly dog

³See Samuel Ireland, *Graphic Illustrations of Hogarth*, II, 1799, p. 63.

in the lower left-hand corner — with the older boy already beginning to assume the airs of a senior.

Another painting of this early period is *The Wedding* (Fig. 2), which remained in the possession of the family for which it was painted until not very long before it was acquired by the Metropolitan Museum from the Marquand Fund in 1936.⁴ This shows the marriage of a young lawyer, Stephen Beckingham of Lincoln's Inn, with Miss Mary Cox of Kidderminster. The ceremony actually took place at the church of St. Benet's, Paul's Wharf; but Hogarth, working in St. Martin's Lane, found it more convenient to represent the church of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, only recently completed by James Gibbs (whose portrait by Hogarth hangs in the vesting room).⁵ The painting bears the date June 9th, 1729; but this is the date of the wedding, and the picture may have been completed much later, though it must have been ready before the end of 1730. It is an excellent example of what may be called Hogarth's prosaic charm, a notable feature being the presence of *amorini* showering down emblems of fruitfulness above the bridal couple: a prophesy that was not to be fulfilled, for poor Mary Cox died childless in 1738. The picturesqueness of the poetic conceit is enhanced by the very definitely bourgeois appearance of the participants in the ceremony, drawn with Hogarth's unfailing truthfulness. A similar device is used to denote connubial bliss in *The Cholmondeley Family* owned by the Marquis of Cholmondeley; and it seems to have been used also in a lost picture said to have shown Handel at the organ at an evening party. Note also that Hogarth has been unable to resist the temptation of introducing two boys leaning eagerly forward over the gallery, though they can hardly have been part of the commission for which he was to be paid.

1730 to 1732, the years following his marriage, may be taken as the peak-point of Hogarth's industry in this line. An important picture, which is probably of this period, though undated, is *The Fountaine Family* (Fig. 3), also at the Philadelphia Museum of Art — a somewhat unusual garden scene, representing an elderly connoisseur who is being shown a painting in the presence of a number of other persons.⁶ The traditional title derives some support from the fact that the picture hung for more than a

⁴See the *Metropolitan Museum Bulletin*, XXXII, 1937, pp. 30-3. The picture passed to descendants of Stephen Beckingham by his second wife.

⁵The church was identified by Dr. G. C. Williamson: see also Boston Museum Extension Publications, IV, 1941, pl. 23.

⁶See *Art in America*, I, 1913, pp. 104-7: but the identification by the late Mr. Roberts of the ladies in the picture with members of Sir Andrew Fountaine's family is doubtful, for the reason given above.



Fig. 2. HOGARTH: THE WEDDING
Metropolitan Museum of Art



Fig. 3. HOGARTH: THE FOUNTAINE FAMILY
Philadelphia Museum of Art

century and a half at Narford Hall, the family home of the Fountaines in Norfolk from which it was exhibited at the British Institution in 1817, the National Portrait Exhibition in 1867, and Burlington House in 1880; but a difficult question of identification arises from the existence of a closely similar painting by Hogarth, in which the same persons have been quite differently identified, on the basis of what appears to be equally good family-tradition. Since my friend Mr. F. C. Antal is dealing at the moment with this problem, I shall only observe that the subject is more likely to be a "conversation," that is, a gathering of friends, the elderly gentleman in the "tye-wig" being Sir Andrew Fontaine, a well-known virtuoso, while one of the other figures may be Christopher Cock, whose auction-rooms may be called the Christie's of those days.

There are three other groups of this period in America, all of them in private possession. One is that known as *Dudley Woodbridge, Esq.*, and



Fig. 4. HOGARTH: DUDLEY WOODBRIDGE ESQ., AND CAPTAIN HOLLAND
Marshall Field Collection, New York

Captain Holland, so called from the superscription on a letter which a manservant is holding at the doorway. This little picture (Fig. 4) measuring $16\frac{1}{2}$ by $21\frac{3}{4}$ inches, is signed and dated 1730, and is a true conversation-piece; it shows two young gentlemen seated at their wine over a table on which are laid a flute and a book, to indicate the tastes of the host. The panelled room has bookshelves, and has been called a library; but to me it had the look of a barrister's chambers, and one day my steps led me to look for the room off Fleet Street. I found the place for which I had been looking, No. 1, Brick Court, Middle Temple — but the building had gone, destroyed by one of Hitler's bombings.

The picture has a further connection with America; for the host, Dudley Woodbridge, was a grandson of John Woodbridge, the Congregational teacher who went to America in 1634 and married Mercy, daughter of Governor Thomas Dudley; her father was judge advocate of the Barbadoes. He had been called to the Bar earlier in the year in which the picture was painted; so it evidently represents a celebration of this event, or perhaps a house-warming. There is a replica with variations by Stephen

Slaughter, belonging to Sir Alec Martin, which may have been painted for the other member of the party, Captain Holland.

Another Hogarth group, recently traced to the States, is his unfinished portrait-group of the Royal Family (King George II with Queen Caroline and their children), painted about 1731. It was in the collection of Samuel Ireland, and engraved for his *Graphic Illustrations*, Vol. II, p. 137. It is illustrated in the catalogue of the Reid sale by the American Art Association, 1935, no. 1161; and from Mrs. Whitelaw Reid's collection it passed into that of Mrs. Valeria L. Bonham of Riverside, Connecticut.

The other picture of this date is a family-piece, one of the few which still belong to the families for which they were painted, in this case a family now domiciled in America. This is *The Jeffreys Family*, showing a nephew of the famous judge of that name, with his wife, Elizabeth Darrell, and their four children. Darrel Jeffreys, great-grandson of one of the children, took it with him to the States about the beginning of this century, and lent it to the Metropolitan Museum from 1922 to 1931. It was last reported to be with his son in Maryland.

The Jeffreys Family illustrates one of those motifs commonly used to connect the members of such groups together. Here it is a fishing-party, the same motif as that of *The Ashley and Popple Families* in the Royal Collection. One of the boys holds the rod, while a younger brother holds a duck, towards which a dog is running. J. B. Nichols, generally inaccurate where figures are concerned, gives the date as 1720;⁷ but from the ages of the children the year must be 1730 or 1731, though I regret that I have not been able to check this from the original.

In 1732 came the engravings of *A Harlot's Progress*, the profits of which relieved Hogarth from the necessity of looking to the painting of portrait-groups for a livelihood; but he continued for a while to do a certain amount of this work for particular friends and patrons, generally in a slightly larger size, such as *The Western Family* in Dublin or *The Strode Family* at the National Gallery in London. One of these paintings is *The Edwards Family*, measuring 26 by 33 inches, which remained till recently in its old home, from which it was exhibited at Burlington House in 1912, and was last reported at Los Angeles (Fig. 5). This is not signed or dated, but can be safely placed round about 1734 from external evidence. Mary Edwards, one of the richest heiresses of her day, contracted an unfortunate marriage with the dissolute Lord Anne Hamilton, which she was forced to repudiate

⁷*Anecdotes of William Hogarth*, 1833, p. 373.



Fig. 5. HOGARTH: THE EDWARDS FAMILY
M. Knoedler & Co., New York

soon afterwards; but her history is a story in itself, which it will be better to reserve until we come to deal with her own portrait by Hogarth in New York, and it will suffice for the present to say that she seems to have been one of the artist's most enthusiastic patrons. She is here seen before the glamour of her marriage had begun to wear off, seated on a terrace with her husband and their infant child (christened in 1733), the serious nature of her own bent of mind being perhaps shown by the open volume of *The Spectator* which she is holding in her hand. The attribution to Hogarth was at one time doubted by Mr. Collins Baker, but I understand that the doubt has since been withdrawn, so far at least as the figures are concerned.

I do not know of any conversation-piece in Hogarth's early style which can be certainly dated after 1740, except *Lord George Graham in his Cabin* at Greenwich. There are, however, a few portrait-groups of children painted in the 1740's, on a very much larger scale, in contrast to the earlier miniature style. One of these is *The Graham Children*, dated 1742, in the London National Gallery. Another is *The Grey Children*, now at the City



Fig. 6. HOGARTH: THE GREY CHILDREN
City Art Museum, St. Louis

Art Museum in St. Louis (Fig. 6), of which the date can be worked out as 1740, the canvas measuring $41\frac{1}{2}$ by $35\frac{1}{4}$ inches.⁸ This came down through the Earls of Stamford and remained with the Grey family till 1928, being bought for the Museum in 1936. Little Lord Grey sits in a high chair with a rattle, while his older sister, later Lady Mary West, "teases" a puppy by holding it upside down. This illustrates what is practically the last phase of Hogarth's groups, much of his energy from now on being taken up with promoting the welfare of the Foundling Hospital, founded by his friend Captain Coram.

Finally, reference may be made to an article by Mr. Collins Baker in the *Burlington Magazine* for 1938, in which he deals with a number of portrait-groups formerly attributed to Hogarth, such as *The Pascall Family* at the Metropolitan Museum, now definitely attributed to Bartholomew Dandridge. It was in this article that the doubt regarding *The Edwards Family*, mentioned above, was expressed.

II

SINGLE PORTRAITS

The previous article dealt with Hogarth's portrait-groups, on which he was chiefly engaged after his marriage in 1729/30. In 1732 came the engravings of *A Harlot's Progress*, on the original paintings for which he must have been occupied for some time before; and these prints, by relieving him from pecuniary anxieties and the consequent need of working to order, enabled him to pursue his own varied interests. He continued at intervals to produce imaginative works, with which I shall be dealing later; but at the same time he sought to establish for himself a place in the first rank of portrait-painters. Portraiture at this time was still the principal form of pictorial art in England; most artists cherished the ambition of becoming the most successful portrait-painter of their day; and Hogarth was not immune from ambition, as his own writings show.

We know from his notes that he was already painting small single portraits before 1731; but hardly any of these early works have survived. The first date for an important single portrait is provided by *Lady Byron*, engraved by Faber in 1736, when Hogarth was nearly forty. The portraits assignable to this decade fall into two groups. On the one hand we have small full-lengths, intimate in character, which supply a link with the conversation-pieces. On the other hand we have much larger paintings, three-

⁸*Apollo*, VI, March 1930, p. 168; *Creative Art*, VI, May 1930, p. 9.

quarter-lengths, in which an attempt is made to follow in the Vandyck tradition as interpreted by Kneller. Hogarth had an admiration for both these artists, and chose the head of Vandyck for the sign of his house in Leicester Fields. Kneller was still alive when Hogarth and Highmore entered their art-school; and it was natural that Hogarth should begin by taking the great Sir Godfrey for his model in more serious portraiture, as Highmore continued to do after his more original fellow-student had developed his own style.

A good example of the small full-length of this period is to be found in a portrait of one *Thomas Western*, which we know to have been painted about 1735, both from the reminiscences of the Rev. William Cole, the antiquary,⁹ to whom the picture once belonged, and also from the time of the sitter's residence at Cambridge. Hogarth had fallen in with a group of young men there, including Cole and John Hoadly, the Bishop's son; and the young Squire of Rivenhall is shown in his academical robes, laced with gold, in his rooms at Clare College, "immediately over the arch, near the Master's Lodge." A shadowy form is said to be Western's cat, warming itself before the fire. After Cole's death the picture returned to the family of the sitter, from which it was sold in 1913; in 1921 it passed from Messrs. Knoedler to Mr. Alfred Morell of Connecticut, but I have not been able to locate its present whereabouts.

For an example of the more ambitious style of this period we have the *Frederick Meinhart Frankland*, 49 by 39½ inches, at the Huntington Library and Art Gallery in San Marino (Fig. 7). The sitter, described by Horace Walpole as a "silly oaf," was a son of Sir Thomas Frankland, a member of that Gaols Committee of the House of Commons which gave Hogarth the subject of one of his first portrait-groups, and this may have served as an introduction. The portrait has been dated as early as c. 1730, presumably in view of the apparent age of the sitter, born in 1694; but I should be inclined to date it later myself. It remained in the family home at Thirkleby, Yorkshire, till 1910, and later passed from the collection of Sir George Leon to the Library.

Another portrait in the grand manner is *Mary Edwards*, 49¾ by 37¾ inches, in the Frick Collection at New York (Fig. 8). Some mention of this lady and her unhappy marriage was made in the previous article, in connection with a group in which she is shown with her husband and her child. After repudiating the marriage, she became well known in Kensing-

⁹Cole mss. in the British Museum, addl. mss. 5819 f 161 and 5826 f 4. quoted by Nichols and Steevens in *The Genuine Works of William Hogarth*, Vol. I, pp. 399-400.



Fig. 7. HOGARTH: FREDERICK MEINHART FRANKLAND
Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino, California



Fig. 8. HOGARTH: MARY EDWARDS
The Frick Collection, New York

ton for her eccentricities; and it was to her order that Hogarth is said to have painted the picture engraved under the title *Taste in High Life*, ridiculing the fashions of the time. That she was at least a young woman of decided views seems to be indicated by the verses on a scroll at her elbow, beginning —

“Remember Englishmen, the Laws, the Rights,
The generous plan of Power deliver’d down
From age to age by your renown’s Forefathers,
So dearly bought the Price of so much Contest . . .”

Such views would be congenial to Hogarth, and this may account for the fact that the portrait is one of his most successful in the grander style. Sir Charles Holmes assigned it to the same period as that of *The Graham Children*, painted in 1742, which is the year of the sitter’s death, when she was thirty-eight;¹⁰ but she seems here to be nearer thirty than forty, and the style nearer to that of *Frederick Frankland*, which uses the same device for filling in the right-hand upper corner. After the sitter’s death the pictures in her Kensington house were sold by auction; but the portraits remained with her descendants, the Noel family of Stardens in Gloucestershire, till 1912, and then passed through the hands of Messrs. Knoedler, a firm responsible for the emigration of many good Hogarths across the Atlantic.

The climax of this earlier period comes with Hogarth’s famous portrait of his friend and fellow-philanthropist, *Captain Thomas Coram*, painted in 1739. Encouraged by the acclamation which it received when exhibited at the Foundling Hospital, and with his ever-combative spirit aroused by discussions with other artists at his academy in St. Martin’s Lane, Hogarth now set himself in real earnest to emulate his famous predecessors; much as he might admire the work of Vandyck and Kneller, he refused to be awe-struck; he did not see why the foreigners should have it all their own way; and his aim, as he has explained himself, was to demonstrate that an English-born artist could make as good a portrait as even Vandyck. It was in this mood that in 1741 he defiantly signed one of his portraits: *Hogarth Anglus pinxit*.

Fortunately several of the portraits of the next few years are signed and dated, so that we are on firmer ground. Again they may be divided into two main groups, with a few exceptions. The only small full-length of the 1740’s seems to be *Lord Boyne*, of which a version is to be found in the

¹⁰*Burlington Magazine*, 1924, Vol. LXV, p. 295.

Philadelphia Museum of Art; and the large three-quarter-lengths also die out. By far the larger number of the portraits of this period are medium-sized half-lengths, with or without a feigned oval. The latter are nearest to the earlier portraits, but the background has become plainer, and is sufficiently relieved by a lighted space seen through a window or the like.

The type is exemplified by *Theodore Jacobson* (called J. Jacobson in the older books), 36 by 28 inches or kitcat size, in the Dudley Peter Allen Memorial Museum at Oberlin, Ohio, signed and dated 1742 (Fig. 9). The sitter was the son of an alderman at Hamburg, and acted as architect of the Foundling Hospital, so dear to Hogarth's heart. He is here seen holding a plan of the triangular structure of Longford Castle in Wiltshire, then belonging to Sir William Bouverie, Vice-President of the Hospital, and the picture is said to have belonged at one time to Sir William's descendant, the Earl of Radnor. In the next century it passed through the well-known collections of G. Watson Taylor and H. R. Willett, and then disappeared till 1942, when it created some sensation on coming up at Christie's from an unknown source. Once again, the picture was secured by Messrs. Knoedler, and was acquired for the Museum through the generosity of R. T. Miller, Jr.

Another of the same type is *Joseph Porter*, 35 $\frac{3}{4}$ by 27 $\frac{7}{8}$ inches, at the Toledo Museum of Art, Toledo, Ohio (Fig. 10). Of the sitter we know little, except that he was a Hamburg merchant, with an establishment in Ironmonger Lane and a place at Mortlake, who died in 1749, so that the picture was probably painted a few years earlier. In 1785 it belonged to his sister, Lucy Porter of Lichfield, daughter of Dr. Johnson's wife by her former husband. In the next century it passed from the collection of the Rev. J. B. Pearson to that of the Marquess of Stafford, later Duke of Sutherland, by whom it was exhibited at the British Institute in 1814, and it remained with that family till 1913. During this period the sitter underwent a change of identity, and masqueraded for more than half a century as "Captain Thomas Coram," for no very obvious reason, except that there is a seascape in the portraits of both. On coming to Messrs. Knoedler, Joseph Porter regained his identity, and the portrait was presented to the Museum by Edmund Drummond Libbey of Toledo in 1925. It has often been exhibited since 1914.

The second main type of the early 1740's is the half-length of slightly smaller size in a feigned oval, a Dutch device closely associated with the name of Cornelius Johnson, but used by most portrait-painters in England during the 17th and 18th centuries. Here we find a blend of the tradi-

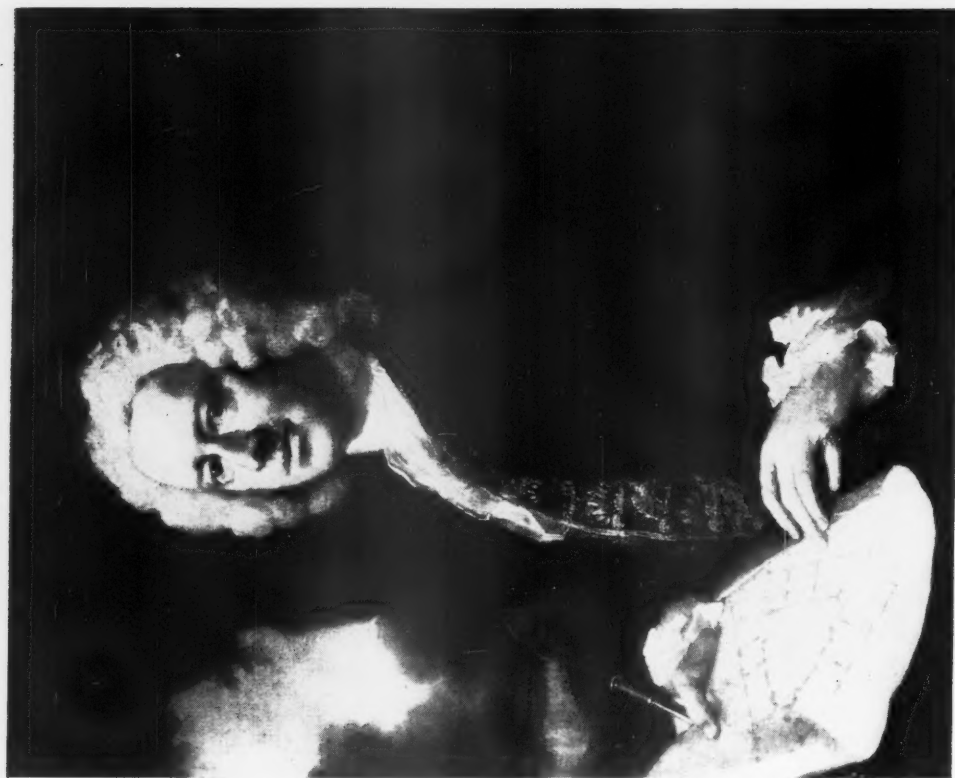


Fig. 9. HOGARTH: THEODORE JACOBSEN
Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio



Fig. 10. HOGARTH: JOSEPH PORTER
Toledo Museum of Art, Toledo, Ohio

tional with Hogarth's intimate and personal style, so that we now have what is perhaps the most typical of his work in portraiture. Many of his sitters at this period were his personal friends, members of the *bourgeois* London society in which he moved himself, so that he did not have to bother overmuch about pomposity, which was all to the good.

Take for example the Hoadly family, of whom Hogarth painted many portraits: the Bishop, his sons Benjamin and John, and their several wives (two of them married twice). They are liable to give rise to confusion, for the men were all known as "Dr. Hoadly" and the women as "Mrs. Hoadly." Both the Bishop's sons, of whom John has already been mentioned, were close friends of Hogarth, who may have come to know them in the days when they joined together in writing a popular play, *The Suspicious Husband*; and Benjamin is said to have helped Hogarth in writing *The Analysis of Beauty*. *John Hoadly*, 29⁷/₈ by 25 inches, now owned by Messrs. Knoedler & Co., in New York (Fig. 14) was one of the Hoadly portraits which came up in the Earl of Lincoln's sale of 1937, having previously been in the collection of the Dukes of Newcastle; but at this sale John appeared as Benjamin, and Benjamin (now belonging to Sir Harold MacIntosh) appeared as John. That the picture belonging to Messrs. Knoedler is John is shown by the clerical gown and bands he is wearing; for Benjamin was a medical doctor, while John was a cleric, known to his friends as "Chancellor John." He was the last surviving male of his family.

The date of this picture is probably about the same as that of *Mrs. Benjamin Hoadly*, of the same size, signed and dated 1743, which in 1930 was owned by P. Jackson Higgs of New York City, but is not now traceable. The picture is said to have come from the collections of Archdeacon and Serjeant D'Oyly, connections of the Hoadly family; but this may be due to a confusion between two items on Austin Dobson's list, since the Hoadly family portraits which belonged to Serjeant D'Oyly are still in the possession of one of his descendants. From her name, the lady might be the wife of either the Bishop or his eldest son, but is probably the son's first wife, Elizabeth Betts from Yoxford in Suffolk; and if so, it would be one of the two pictures belonging in 1817 to Matthew Raper, F. R. S. and F. S. A., who married into the Betts family. In the other picture, a group, the husband was shown holding a miniature of his deceased wife in his hand.¹¹

Fine examples of Hogarth's work towards the end of this middle period are the portraits of husband and wife, *William James* and *Elizabeth James*,

¹¹Letter from Matthew Raper, quoted by Nichols in *The Genuine Works*, 1817, Vol. III, p. 182.



Fig. 11. HOGARTH: WILLIAM JAMES
Worcester Art Museum



Fig. 12. HOGARTH: ELIZABETH JAMES
Worcester Art Museum

each 29½ by 24½ inches, at the Worcester Art Museum, Worcester, Mass. (Figs. 11 and 12). If there is a touch of pomposity in William, this is but natural in a man proud of his position as High Sheriff for Kent, and no doubt the magnificently gold-braided coat gave equal pleasure both to artist and to sitter; but he remains human underneath it all, while his young wife has that vivacity which Hogarth, who held strongly that life should not be painted as if it were *nature morte*, knew so well how to express. These portraits remained in the family home at Ightham Court in Kent till about 1906, when they passed through the hands of Colnaghi and Knoedler, from whom they were purchased in 1909. They have been several times exhibited since.

A link with Hogarth's earlier patronage is *Sir Edward Walpole*, 30 by 24½ inches, which is also with Messrs. Knoedler & Co. in New York, and may belong to the earlier part of this period (Fig. 13). The sitter was a son of the great Prime Minister, Sir Robert Walpole, and a brother of Horace Walpole. Several of Hogarth's earliest clients were connected with Sir Robert's party in parliament, and a portrait of the sitter's sister is included in *The Cholmondeley Family*. A portrait of Sir Edward by Hogarth is recorded in 1782 as having belonged to Samuel Ireland and as having passed in that year to Horace Walpole; but it is not traceable in the inventories of Strawberry Hill or the sale of the contents, and in the next century the present portrait belonged to the descendant of a natural daughter of Sir Edward Walpole and Maria Clements, by whom it was exhibited in the National Portraits Exhibition at South Kensington in 1868 as no. 794. Since leaving this collection it has passed through several hands and has been several times exhibited.

I have not left myself much space to deal with three other portraits which may have been done by Hogarth at this time. They are not signed or dated, and I have not seen the originals, so that I cannot personally vouch for the attributions, beyond saying that I see no reason for not accepting them from the photographs I have seen. These are *A Lady* (Fig. 15), in a yellow gown with blue mantle, at the Detroit Institute of Arts; *Anne, Viscountess Irwin*, at the Hackley Art Gallery, Muskegon, Michigan; and *A Lady*, in rose taffeta, in the Minneapolis Institute of Arts. This last has been called Hogarth's sister, probably in consequence of Austin Dobson's mistaken identification of Mrs. Salter at the National Gallery with Anne Hogarth; but the features do not seem to me to agree with either of the portraits of Hogarth's sisters from Mrs. Hogarth's own collection.

This middle period of Hogarth's portraiture, though the most prolific,



Fig. 13. HOGARTH: SIR EDWARD WALPOLE
Scott and Fowles, New York



Fig. 14. HOGARTH: JOHN HOADLY
M. Knoedler & Co., New York



Fig. 15. HOGARTH: A LADY
Detroit Institute of Arts



Fig. 16. HOGARTH: THE EARL OF CHARLEMONT
R. Keith Kane, New York

did not last for much more than five years. Either, as Horace Walpole puts it, "a satirist was too formidable a confessor for the devotees of self-love"¹²; or else, as Hogarth preferred to believe, the malice of his rivals caused his practice in this line to dwindle away; not having achieved the recognition for which he hoped, he abandoned portrait-painting in disgust, and took to writing *The Analysis of Beauty*. There is then a long gap, which it is difficult to fill in with any certain works, though he may have painted a few portraits of his intimates, until in 1757 we find John Hoadly writing excitedly to Dr. Warton: "Hogarth has got again into portraits; and has his hands full of business, and at a high price."¹³ But by this time the painter was sixty, and had not many years to live.

Naturally, portraits of this last period are few; but there seems to be at least one example in America, if the traditional date of 1764 (the year of the artist's death) is correct. This is *The Earl of Charlemont*, 23½ by 19½ inches, belonging to R. Keith Kane of New York (Fig. 16). The sitter is best known as a patriotic leader of the Irish volunteer army, but also deserves fame as one of Hogarth's most enthusiastic patrons. Indeed, it was at the pressing request of the Earl that Hogarth painted his last important picture, *The Lady's Last Stake*, also in America, of which more will be said later. The portrait belonged to Samuel Ireland in 1782, when it was etched by Haynes; and I have little doubt that it is one of the paintings that Ireland obtained from Mrs. Hogarth in 1780, when he ransacked the artist's studio, another being the similar unfinished portrait of Lord Holiand, now with the Earl of Ilchester. Lord Charlemont's portrait came into the possession of his family in the end, for it was exhibited by an Earl of Charlemont in Dublin in 1853, and was stated when sold in 1920 to have come from the collection of the late Countess of Charlemont. It was then bought by Messrs. P. & D. Colnaghi, by whom it was exhibited at Vienna in 1927. The sitter was a much younger man than Hogarth, having been born in 1728, and from his appearance the date 1764 (originally inscribed on the canvas) cannot be far out. This may well have been the last occasion on which Hogarth set brush to canvas.

It will be seen that America is well off by now for Hogarth portraits; and I do not think that the reason is far to seek. Miss Laurie Eglington Kaldis is certainly right when, in her comparison between English and American portraiture of the 18th century, she says that even in Hogarth we find a basic difference of approach from that of the early American portrait-

¹²*Anecdotes of Painting in England*, 1762, Vol. IV, p. 75.

¹³Letter quoted by Nichols in *The Genuine Works*, 1808, Vol. I, p. 212.

painters;¹⁴ this is but natural, in view of Hogarth's training and the kind of sitter from whom he had to earn his livelihood; but what we do find in the best of Hogarth's work, as I think Miss Kaldis goes on to make clear, is something that has been called the democratic approach, an interest in humanity as such, exemplified by his *Six Heads of Servants* in the National Gallery at London. This was shared by few European portrait-painters of the time; and though it may have led to unpopularity among "the devotees of self-love," for it is a form of truthfulness which may be likened to plain speaking, we are undoubtedly the gainers in the end.

III

MISCELLANEOUS

Although the moralising works of Hogarth, the "Progresses" and the merely satirical scenes, loom largest in the popular conception of his work as a whole, in actual fact they form only a small part of his output. Even if we add in the religious paintings, such miscellaneous work counts up to less than a third of the total number of his pictures, the rest being portraiture in one form or another. For this there are several reasons. It has to be constantly borne in mind that Hogarth was a man who worked by fits and starts, continually turning from one form of activity to another, from engraving to painting, and from these to writing and philanthropy. The busiest period of his life was probably in the early 1730's, when he was painting *pour la cuisine*, as Vandyck said of himself in his earlier days, turning out conversation-pieces to order, and at the same time evolving the first of the painted plays which were to absolve him from this laborious necessity, after he had secured by legislation the artist's right to the profits of his own work. The next most fruitful period was in the early 1740's, when he was seeking to establish a position for himself as a portrait-painter, as I have described already. The satirical works came in at intervals, partly perhaps because Hogarth enjoyed preaching, and in this way found a wider audience, but still more because they provided a regular income which would allow him to apply himself to his other interests. The engravings from these paintings gave him the income. The originals never fetched more than small sums when Hogarth came to sell them by his own peculiar method of auction; and it remained for a later generation to discover the intrinsic merits of the paintings as works of art in themselves.

This is not to say that a large proportion of the paintings attributed to

¹⁴*Art in America*, Vol. 33, April 1945, p. 58.

Hogarth may not be of the satirical kind; but for most of these he can only be held indirectly responsible. One form which the popularity of the engravings took was to have them mounted as "furniture" pictures; and from this it was but a small step to have paintings done from them. Such imitations are generally distinguishable by their crudity; but sometimes they were done by such competent artists as Francis Hayman, later of the Royal Academy, and then they may be more difficult to distinguish. One test for a painting supposed to represent the original of a subject engraved by Hogarth himself is to compare it with the print. If the artist was dealing with a purely imaginary subject, he would not trouble to reverse the engraving on the copper plate so as to make the print come out the same way as the model from which he was working, and so the print and the original would appear in different directions from left to right. On the other hand, if a professional engraver from outside was employed, the intention would be to produce something like a modern photographic reproduction, and for this purpose he would use an engraving mirror, so that the print might appear in the same direction as the original, and a faithful copy is to be expected. Moreover, the engraving might be done from a monochrome oil-sketch, such as *The Enraged Musician* at Oxford, or from a drawing, as with the series of *Industry and Idleness*; and the ever-fertile imagination of the artist would introduce new details as he went along, producing considerable variations from the original in the final print. The presence of such differences in the painting from the print cannot, however, be taken as an infallible test of the authenticity of the former; for instances are known in which a copyist of Hogarth's work has introduced variations of his own.

Besides these paintings done from the prints, which are numerous, there is a small class of less direct imitations, done by artists of the later 18th century in an attempt to follow in Hogarth's footsteps; but story-telling paintings taken from daily life were not really popular in England until the Victorian era, nor does anyone of this time seem to have had quite his knack of making imaginary characters come to life on canvas, though Zoffany had something of it in his conversation-pieces.

From what has been said above, it is hardly to be expected that America should be as rich in genuine examples of Hogarth's satirical work as it is in examples of his portraiture, multiple and single. Indeed, instances of his miscellaneous work are difficult to find anywhere outside public institutions in England. Some of those in private possessions have been destroyed; only two of the scenes in *A Harlot's Progress* survived the fire at

Fonthill Abbey in 1755; while the painting engraved as *Strolling Actresses Dressing in a Barn* was burnt at Littleton Park in 1874. Other important sets, which were popular on account of their subject matter passed into national collections at an early date — *Marriage à-la-Mode* into the National Gallery with the Angerstein Collection in 1824 (since transferred to the Tate Gallery), *A Rake's Progress* and the *Election* series into Sir John Sloane's Museum in London. Hogarth's religious works were painted for the institutions in which they are still to be found; and of landscapes, according to what Mrs. Hogarth told Samuel Ireland, he painted only one (though many are ascribed to his name). His portraits, on the other hand, were not so popular, and remained for the most part in long obscurity, to be "discovered" gradually in later years.

All things considered, America is fortunate in possessing a few good examples of the imaginative side of Hogarth's work, sufficient to complete this survey of his activities, since they range from fairly early paintings to the last important picture which he painted. Probably the earliest of these paintings is *A Midnight Modern Conversation* (Fig. 17), the property of Judge Samuel Seabury in New York, a picture of somewhat unusual dimensions, measuring 31 by 64 inches. The subject was engraved by Hogarth himself in 1733, and may have been painted a year or two before then, so that it belongs to his first period of painting activity. Though this vivid depiction of a number of middle-aged or elderly gentlemen in progressive stages of intoxication round a capacious punch-bowl may not be to every-



Fig. 17. HOGARTH: A MIDNIGHT MODERN CONVERSATION
Judge Samuel Seabury, New York

one's taste at the present day, it was excessively popular with the subjects of King George II, and spread Hogarth's fame as far afield as Germany. Austin Dobson¹⁵ tells us that the design was transferred to pottery, and used for mugs, snuff-boxes and punch-bowls, also for fan-mounts, as early as 1733. As is to be expected in these circumstances, paintings done from the print are numerous: I have notes of more than twenty versions in private collections, including two that were painted on the walls of taverns, and I have no doubt that there are many more besides. Judge Seabury's version, however, is signed; it is in *reverso* to the print, and has several variations; for example, the grandfather clock which appears in the print is omitted. The picture came from the collection of Sir Francis Astley-Corbett at Elsham Hall in Lincolnshire, from which it was acquired by Messrs. Tooth and Sons in 1927. Its previous history is uncertain, but that the print in this case was taken from a painting is shown not only by the inscription on the print, but also by the fact that the painting is one of those which appear in Hogarth's engraving *The Battle of the Pictures*, though it does not seem to have been sold at auction with the rest.

The ladies who bought the fan-mounts, we are told, were entertained with a description of each particular person introduced into the print. It is a regular feature of early Hogarthiana that an attempt should be made to identify the artist's imaginary figures with personages in real life; but here again a word of caution is necessary before such attempts are taken too seriously. Except for some early prints, Hogarth's satire was aimed at the general rather than the individual; and the slight basis for such guess-work is well illustrated in the present instance. In the first edition of the *Biographical Anecdotes*, it was confidently stated that the divine in *A Midnight Modern Conversation* was meant for Parson Ford, and the lawyer for Lord Northington, when young.¹⁶ In *The Genuine Works*, Nichols retracts this, and says that he is now able to identify the figures as Orator Henley (said to be introduced into several of Hogarth's works) and the Lawyer of Kettleby; but the ground for this statement turns out to be nothing more than the gossip of the time, as repeated many years later.¹⁷

A painting which is probably a little later, since it is signed and dated 1733, while the print did not issue till 1735 (though dated 1733), is *Southwark Fair*, lent by Lady Oakes to Bowdoin College at Brunswick, Maine, of which her husband was an *alumnus* (Figs. 18-21). The history of this picture is interesting. It first appeared in 1746 at the sale of Hogarth's

¹⁵William Hogarth, 1907, p. 46, note.

¹⁷1808, Vol. II, p. 110, note.

¹⁶1781, p. 90.

eccentric patron, Mary Edwards of Kensington, of whose place in a group I spoke in my first article, and whose portrait at New York was mentioned in the second. It next appeared at a house called Valentines in Essex, the property of Donald Cameron, the contents of which were sold by Skinner and Dyke in 1797; and there was another sale at the European Museum in 1800. In 1807 it was at the house of Mr. Johnes at Hafod, and was then reported to have been destroyed by fire;¹⁸ but it was evidently saved from the fate of the *Strolling Actresses*, for it passed with the Hafod estate into the collection of the Dukes of Newcastle, where it remained safely for over a century, being often exhibited during this time. The pictures of the 7th Duke were left to the Earl of Lincoln, and were sold at Christie's in 1937, when *Southwark Fair* was acquired by Sir Harry Oakes.

The picture, which measures 47½ by 59½ inches, is packed with incident; and by the kindness of the owner, together with the generous assistance of Mr. Philip C. Beam, Director of the Bowdoin College Museum of Fine Arts, I am able to illustrate some of the details, as well as the picture as a whole, which again is in reverse to the print. The fair at Southwark was eventually suppressed in 1762, but in the earlier part of the 18th century it was attended for a fortnight in each year by "persons of all distinctions of both sexes." Since it is not so much a satire as the record of an actual event, the anecdotists here are on safer ground, and the chief features can be picked out.¹⁹ The painted horse in front of the church tower is a show-cloth for *The Siege of Troy*, a drollery by Elkanah Settle, which was a great favourite at fairs, and is here presented by Lee and Harper at their Great Booth, while at the side we have *Punch's Opera*, in the Italian style. The show-cloth projecting on the right has some obscure reference to the stage-gossip of the day, being taken from an etching by Hogarth's friend Jack Laguerre, singer and scene painter, entitled *The Stage Mutiny*, and done when Colley Cibber, the poet-laureate, had sold his share in the old Covent Garden theatre to Highmore; but the tumbling figures below carry a humorous allusion to *The Fall of Bajazet* which Cibber and others had presented this year on a similar booth at Smithfield. The figure descending by a rope from the church tower is Thomas Cadman, or Kidman, who soon after broke his neck doing the same sort of thing at Shrewsbury, while his rival vaulting on a rope on the other side is Signor Violante, who had made a name for himself by descending headfirst from the steeple of St. Martin's in the presence of the royal princesses. Among other sights

¹⁸J. B. Nichols, *Anecdotes of William Hogarth*, 1833, p. 353.

¹⁹For further details see *The Genuine Works*, Vol. II, pp. 84-94.

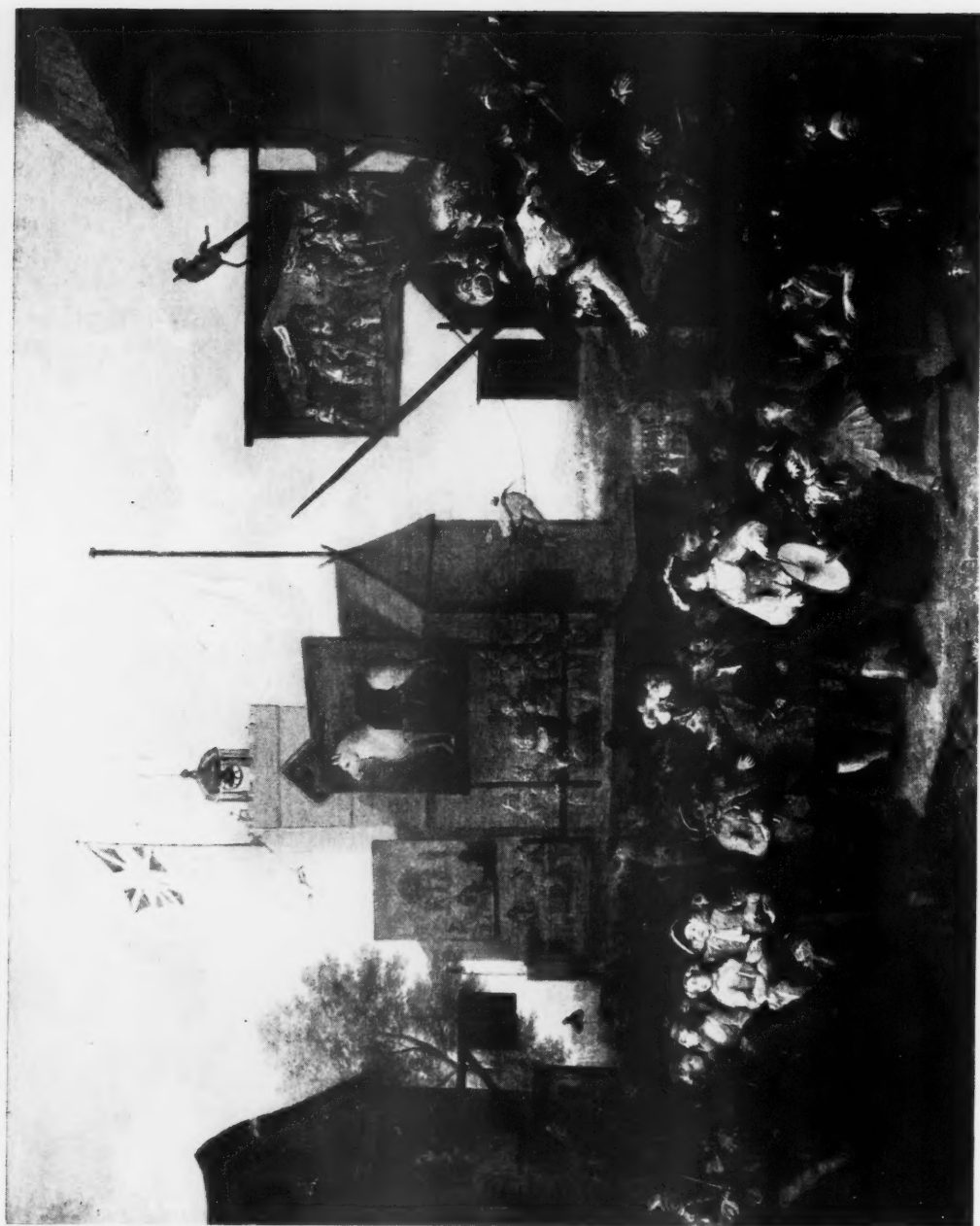


Fig. 18. HOGARTH: SOUTHWARK FAIR
Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Maine. Lent by Lady Oakes



Fig. 19. HOGARTH: SOUTHWARK FAIR (detail)
Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Maine. Lent by Lady Oakes



Fig. 20. HOGARTH: SOUTHWARK FAIR (detail)
Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Maine. Lent by Lady Oakes

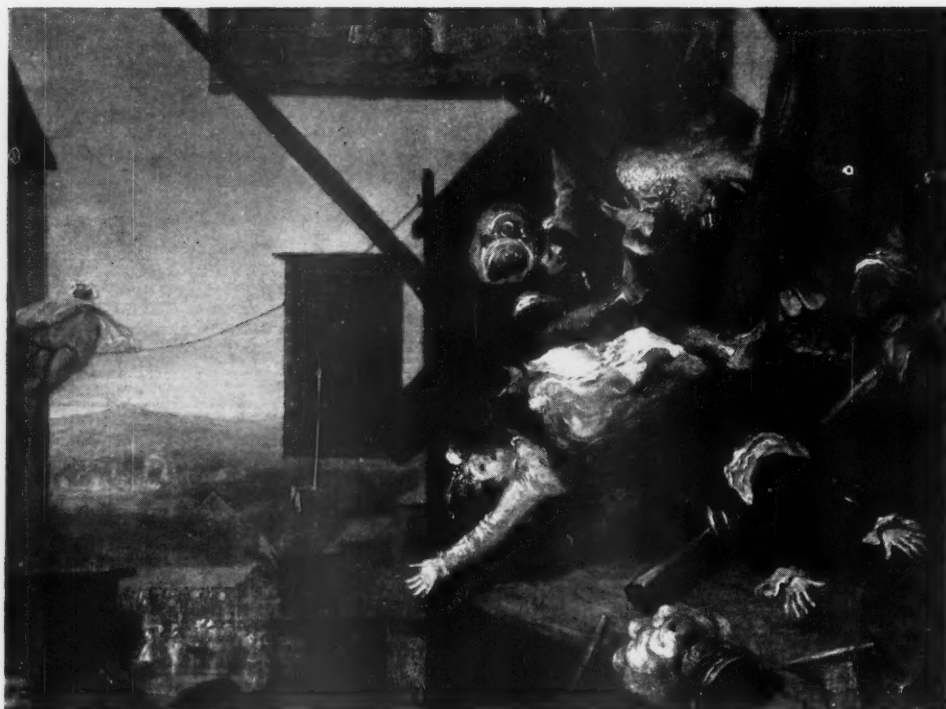


Fig. 21. HOGARTH: SOUTHWARK FAIR (detail)
Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Maine. Lent by Lady Oakes

we have Maximilian (or Müller), the Giant from Upper Saxony, Mr. Fawkes the Conjuror, and "The Whole Court of France" in waxwork, at a window on the left.

Down on the ground, we have an actor in his finery being arrested by the bailiffs, while an object of great admiration from the men is a beautiful girl beating a drum, of whom Samuel Ireland had the following story from Mrs. Hogarth herself: that Hogarth happened to be passing through the fair, when he saw the master of the fair strike her and otherwise use her ill, whereupon he took her part and gave the fellow a violent drubbing.²⁰ Hogarth did a separate oil-sketch of the Beautiful Drummeress, which is now the property of Mr. E. W. Fattorini, after passing through the Bohn and Burdett-Coutts collections; and it would seem that he then proceeded to build up the whole picture from his memory of this event.

A third example in America of Hogarth's imaginative painting, this time more definitely of the story-telling kind, is a famous picture from the Pierpont Morgan collection, now at the Buffalo Fine Arts Academy (Fig. 22),

²⁰*Graphic Illustrations*, pp. 110-1.



Fig. 22. HOGARTH: THE LADY'S LAST STAKE
Albright Art Gallery, Buffalo, New York

measuring 36 by 41½ inches. Several copies of this composition exist. Originally entitled *Picquet, or Virtue in Danger*, it has come to be known in more recent years as *The Lady's Last Stake*. We may leave Hogarth to tell the story for himself. "While I was making arrangements to confine myself entirely to my graver," he writes,²¹ "an amiable nobleman (Lord Charlemont) requested that before I bade a final adieu to the pencil, I would paint him one picture. The subject to be my own choice, and the reward, — whatever I demanded. The story I pitched upon, was a young and virtuous married lady, who, by playing at cards with an officer, loses her money, watch, and jewels: the moment when he offers them back in return for her honour, and she is wavering at his suit, was my point of time." The nobleman was the same Earl of Charlemont whose unfinished

²¹Hogarth ms. in the British Museum, first printed by John Ireland in Vol. III of his *Hogarth Illustrated* (3rd edn., pp. 191-2).

portrait, belonging to a private owner in New York, was mentioned in the last article; and the postponement of a sitting for this portrait is mentioned in a letter of which follows the above account, in which the young Earl speaks of his difficulties in making immediate payment for *Picquet*. At the beginning of 1760 there follows another letter, which is also worth quoting. "Inclosed I send you a note upon Nesbitt for one hundred pounds; and considering the name of the author, and the surprising merit of your performance, I am really much ashamed to offer such a trifle in recompence for the pains you have taken, and the pleasure has afforded me. I beg you would think that I by no means attempt to pay you according to your merit, but according to my own abilities. Were I to pay your deserts, I fear I should leave myself poor indeed. Imagine that you have made me a present of your picture, for literally as such I take it, and that I have begged your acceptance of the inclosed trifle. As this is really the case, with how much reason do I subscribe myself, Your most obliged humble servant, *Charlemont*."

The letter did much to cheer Hogarth, now over sixty, at a time when he was beginning to feel despondent. He was allowed to exhibit the picture in the following year at an exhibition in Spring Gardens, held by "A Society of Artists, associated for the Relief of the distressed and decayed of their own Body, their Widows, and Children." The object of the society was naturally one which would appeal to Hogarth, who designed two illustrations for the catalogue, so popular that the plates were soon worn out. The picture was again exhibited at the British Institute in 1814, and has been many times exhibited since. There was some talk of having it engraved by Livesay in 1785, but the engraving was eventually done by Cheesman, at some time before 1812. The painting remained with the Charlemont family for over a hundred years, and was bought in 1874 by Vokins for what must then have been the highest price ever paid for a single painting by Hogarth, 1,510 guineas. It next appeared in the famous collection of Louis Huth. In 1899 it was exhibited by Messrs. Agnew, and in the following year it appeared in the collection of J. Pierpont Morgan.

By way of conclusion, I may mention a picture attributed to Hogarth of which I am personally doubtful, but which may serve to illustrate some of the remarks made above. This is *The Ballad Singer*, measuring $25\frac{7}{8}$ by $30\frac{1}{4}$ inches, belonging to the Rhode Island School of Design at Providence (Fig. 23). It has a fairly good history, since it is probably the same as the picture of the same title exhibited by John Dent with an attribution to Hogarth at the British Institute in 1824; but it has to be remembered that



Fig. 23. HOGARTH: THE BALLAD SINGER
Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design

Hogarth's popularity as a painter had been greatly enhanced by the exhibition of 1814, and doubtful attributions were already beginning to crop up by the beginning of the 19th century. The painting was later in the collection of the Rev. John Lucy, of Hampton Lucy, and was presented to the School by Mrs. M. S. Danforth. Since I have not seen the original picture, I am hardly in a position to give any final opinion; but it seems to me that it has too much the air of a *pot-pourri* of Hogarthian memories, and Hogarth was not much given to repeating himself in this way. A woman with arms akimbo recalls *The Shrimp Girl*, the couple in the right foreground remind one of the beau and the orange-girl in *The Laughing Audience*, the scene generally is suggestive of *The Enraged Musician*, and so on. Moreover, the picture as a whole lacks point; and there is always some point in Hogarth's work of this kind, even though it may be only rather tomboyish humour, as in *Southwark Fair*, sometimes called *The*

Humours of a Fair. In short, it is hardly more than a topographical scene, usually called "a street with market-figures" in the auctioneers' catalogues, of a sort which is often attributed to his brush, but of which I do not know any certain example by him.

It would require a separate article to deal with the influence of Hogarth on subsequent painting. The degree to which he may have affected American painting might be worth working out. It is certain that he has been held in high esteem by American artists, from Benjamin West, P. R. A., to James McNeil Whistler, who is said to have spent many hours in studying Hogarth's work. The Editor has kindly drawn my attention to the apparent influence of *A Midnight Modern Conversation* on John Greenwood's picture of *Sea Captains Carousing at Surinma* in the Arthur Cushing Collection (reproduced in S. T. Flexner's *First Flowers of Our Wilderness* and in *John Greenwood in America* by Alan Burroughs). Other examples could probably be found."

Hogarth As Illustrator

By ROBERT E. MOORE
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WHEN an artist has excelled repeatedly in one mode of composition, it is natural that his less successful efforts in another mode are ignored. Few people today know the plays of Fielding, the poetry of George Eliot, the songs of Berlioz. In pictorial art Hogarth's works as an illustrator, the pictures he undertook at the commission of eighteenth-century booksellers, have never received much attention from the critic. This is unfortunate, for although they are not masterworks they are works of a master, and one of the surest insights into Hogarth's genius may be gained from examining them. Seeing what the artist cannot do often leads to the clearest revelation of where his greatness lies. In Fielding's plays, except for a few burlesques like *Tom Thumb* and *Pasquin*, we see the author limiting himself to what is for him the painfully restricted canvas of the comedy of manners. An examination of these contrived works reveals at once Fielding's need of the broad spaces of what he called the comic prose epic. And we may learn why some of the scenes in *Tom Jones* which smack of the comedy of manners — those in Lady Bellaston's drawing-room, for example — are so much more successful than similar scenes from the plays. In like manner, Hogarth's illustrations are most interesting to us not because of their merits but because of the nature of their limitations. They will also open up the interesting and complex question of just how satisfactory illustrations can be as works of art.

The subject is rich in paradox. In the first place, Hogarth's genius is obviously allied to the craft of the illustrator, for his most original and important contribution to English art is the series of narrative pictures beginning with *A Harlot's Progress* in 1732.¹ In these pictures, full of painstaking realism, telling an exciting story with superb economy and great drama, the very details of the settings or backgrounds are often endowed with important dramatic significance. An illustrator more scrupulously attentive to narrative detail is hardly to be found. In addition, the authors whose books Hogarth was hired to illustrate were usually men with habits of mind particularly sympathetic to his own. For example, he admired Cervantes immensely, and composed six pictures in 1738 for Lord

¹This is the date of publication of the prints. The paintings were probably begun early in 1730 and completed in September 1731. See Austin Dobson, *William Hogarth*, London, 1907, p. 33.

Cartaret's edition (in Spanish) of *Don Quixote*. Cervantes is, in turn, the most obvious influence upon another author who, by his own admission, is much beholden to Hogarth, Henry Fielding. All three were men who, though delighting in exposing sham, were yet able to maintain a genial happy outlook on the world. Under these favorable auspices one would assume that Hogarth's *Don Quixote* illustrations would be particularly exhilarating. Instead they are so dull that all but one of them were eventually discarded in favor of John Vanderbank's designs.² Except for a single picture here and there, Hogarth was no more successful with other authors — Butler, Sterne, Milton, Shakespeare — even though the scenes he chose usually have those qualities of exaggerated and vulgar bumptiousness which the world considers Hogarthian. The paradox, in short, is that where one would expect him to be the ideal illustrator he fails; and that the illustrations of a great narrative painter form the most undistinguished category of his collected works.

An answer to this paradox is partially suggested when we look at the pattern of Hogarth's career. From its very inception he was bristling with originality both in ideas and in treatment of those ideas. For example, he first acquired a reputation by painting the conversation-piece, a small group of people, usually a family, pictured in intimate surroundings. He is credited with the popularizing of this form, for which he had numerous commissions; but after a few years he began to tire of them because they were being taken up by others, because their scope was narrow, and because they brought him only small fees. He therefore turned to the highly original series of narrative paintings which subsequently he engraved and sold cheaply to an eager public. He was certainly influenced by Jan Steen, among other Dutch painters, even though Hogarth himself called the painting and engraving of modern moral subjects "a novel mode," "a field not broken up in any country or any age."³ Yet his work is far more imaginative and original than Steen's; and it is Hogarth who brought narrative art to vigorous life in England. Once he had shown the way, many British artists followed in his wake — Rowlandson, Northcote, Morland, Cruikshank — but none of the successors comes near the achievements of the great original.

Even with the narrative series, however, he was not satisfied. In the late 1730's he turned ambitiously to two enormous "historical paintings," as

²John Ireland, *Hogarth Illustrated*, London, 1798, iii, 292 and 303. There is a full account of these plates in H. S. Ashbee's *Iconography of Don Quixote*, London, 1895, pp. 19-20.

³John Ireland, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

they were called, for St. Bartholomew's Hospital. One of them treats Christ's miracles at the Pool of Bethesda with a casualness wonderful to behold, while the central figure in the other picture, *The Good Samaritan*, is a horse like none ever before seen in nature or art. Though both pictures are poor, and draw to some extent upon continental painters,⁴ they are an important testimonial to the unconventional character of the artist's genius and to his restless ambition. Later in his career he put the conventions of the conversation-piece to an entirely new and dramatic use in *The Lady's Last Stake*, the canvas for which Johnson's friend Mrs. Thrale always insisted she was the model. Shortly before his death he even delved into high tragedy with a picture in which he vainly hoped to outdo the Italian masters on their own ground: the subject is Boccaccio's Sigismunda weeping over the heart of her lover. During all this varied career he was painting portraits of much novelty, for he refused to flatter his sitters. Indeed this originality in a form never notable for realism prevented his commissions for portraiture from ever being very numerous. Finally, some of his single satirical pieces, like *Strolling Actresses Dressing in a Barn*, *Southwark Fair*, and *The March to Finchley*, are among the most surprising and unconventional works in English art. Obviously he was never satisfied to stick to any one thing for very long, or to do even the old things in the traditional way.

Why an artist of such restlessness and daring should, in spite of his genius for the narrative, make so poor an illustrator of other men's works is thus not difficult to understand. It is what anyone who knows much about Hogarth might expect. He has great gifts for drama and for detail, but these must be invented not by Cervantes or Sterne or Milton, but by himself. His originality cannot be constrained by a printed text.

There are interesting substantiations of this fact in his first illustrations of any importance, the sixteen small plates for a 1726 edition of *Hudibras*.⁵ As an introduction to more complex problems of illustration as an art form, we may have several of these Hogarth illustrations before us. Issued separately in 1726 was a more original and much enlarged set of twelve *Hudibras* plates which are on the whole his best illustrations. Paradoxically, their superiority is due to the fact that they come early in his career, before he had found his own highly original forte. (The engravings of *A Harlot's*

⁴F. C. Antal, "Hogarth and his Borrowings," *Art Bulletin*, xxix (March, 1947), 44. In this excellent article Mr. Antal also discusses to what extent the *Hudibras* and *Don Quixote* illustrations are derivative.

⁵Several motifs of his designs were suggested by the anonymous engravings of an earlier *Hudibras* edition of three volumes, published by John Baker at the "Black Boy" in Paternoster Row, London, 1709-10.

Progress were still six years away.) Not yet a leader, he was still a follower contented in part to take direction from others. The subject of *Hudibras*, a blunt unrefined satire on Puritanism, is also an especially happy one for Hogarth; to the end of his career he enjoyed satirizing fanatic religious sectarianism, Methodism naturally being the principal target for his ridicule. The first *Hudibras* plate is a frontispiece containing a picture of Butler and some extremely poor allegorical figures; the other eleven plates are scenes from the story. They are a surprising group, for while they are well enough drawn and depict scenes that should be suitable to Hogarth's talents, they are largely lacking in the zest of countenance and frenzy of movement that suffuse all his best work. He seems to have read Butler with much care, and with equal care to have translated the author's facts into pictures. But Hogarth only transcribes; he does not create. The eleventh scene, "The Burning of the Rumps at Temple Bar," should have been a capital Hogarthian melee teeming with riotous activity and lively satirical strokes, for it shows an excited crowd in the middle of the street before Temple Bar burning effigies of Hudibras, Ralpho, and other detested Puritans. Yet the only difference between this scene and those preceding is that the crowd is larger and the composition, including a number of actual buildings, slightly more complex. For the exhilarating inventive horseplay of the great crowd scenes in Hogarth — *Southwark Fair*, *The March to Finchley*, and the last two plates of *Industry and Idleness* — we look in vain.

Two of the *Hudibras* pictures deserve special comment, for in them Hogarth departs from the text and, relying largely upon his own invention, immediately creates memorable figures. The first (Plate Six) shows Hudibras and Ralpho in stocks, visited by the beautiful widow with whom Hudibras is in love. The scene is redeemed by two lively figures, a ridiculous fat beadle, and a rascally little boy who defiles Ralpho's boot, neither of them in Butler.⁶ The other scene, Plate Twelve, is very brilliant indeed. Here Hogarth throws aside the text almost completely and gives his imagination free rein in depicting the astonished and terrified Hudibras as he encounters the Skimmington. Most of the details are Hogarth's own — a woman leaning out of the window with her husband and slyly holding her fingers over his head in the sign of the cuckold, to the delight of a wayfarer who makes water against the wall of her house; a stalwart farmer bearing a huge iron pot which an old man is beating upon; two other ama-

⁶It must be owned that another Hogarthian invention, a young villager flirting with the widow's maid, is ill-drawn and insipid.

teur musicians whose efforts are mocked by a shouting urchin; another urchin pulling a cat's tail; and still another who applies a flambeau to the posterior of Ralpho's horse. This plate is the best illustration for a book to be found in Hogarth, and is clear evidence of the free play of invention he required to excel in this form.

After *Hudibras* there is a change. As he advanced in his career and became more expert in his art, Hogarth appears to have regarded illustration as drudgery. Little imagination illumines these pictures in which even his ability as a draughtsman sometimes deserts him. His two illustrations to *Paradise Lost*, for instance, are startling examples of a realm in which he cannot succeed. The first picture shows the gathering in Pandemonium at the end of Book One. He has drawn a huge arcade whose vaulted dome is lighted with blazing stars; on a massive and ugly throne in the middle sits Satan, the grand infernal peers on smaller thrones around the sides of the hall. Throngs of scarcely visible pygmies (in the manner of Callot) cluster at their feet. This contrast in size Milton describes in a manner at once magnificent, vague, and impressive:

Thus incorporeal spirits to smallest forms
Reduced their shapes immense, and were at large,
Though without number still, amidst the hall
Of that infernal court. But far within,
And in their own dimensions like themselves,
The great Seraphic Lords and Cherubim
In close recess and secret conclave sat,
A thousand demi-gods on golden seats,
Frequent and full.

In Hogarth the contrast between Satan and his host seems not only unimpressive, but even ludicrous. Grandeur cannot be measured in feet and inches. The picture is a failure because, even though as faithful as possible to Milton, it is totally devoid of the Miltonic spirit. As so often when he treats hugeness, Milton is deliberately vague; the throng are "without number still" and even "incorporeal spirits." A pictorial representation will surely emphasize the very things the poet is pointedly omitting. The two great similes describing the entrance of the host into Pandemonium, those of the bees in spring-time and the fairy elves at midnight, are replete with an airy suggestiveness that will obviously be lost in the drawing. A realistic artist, like Hogarth, depicting one scene cannot at the same time and on the same canvas depict something else to which that scene is compared, nor can he avoid making the incorporeal blatantly corporeal. The second of these illustrations is an utterly hopeless attempt to envision the scene of Book

Three, God and the Messiah looking down upon the earth as Satan flies towards it. The Divine Powers are seated uneasily upon a rainbow, and are surrounded by cherubim which are nothing more than infants' heads with pairs of ducks' wings placed under their chins. Satan is a scarcely visible silhouette flying towards the earth in the lower right-hand corner of the picture. Midway between heaven and earth an angelic orchestra obliges with a concert, one of the instruments being an enormous pipe organ. When Hogarth is encumbered by the details of Butler's text or Cervantes' text he fails on a small scale, but with Milton there is no describing the pretentiousness of his failure.

The final examples I shall mention are his last notable illustrations, two sketches for *Tristram Shandy* undertaken at Sterne's own request, and neither so good as his concluding plate for *Hudibras* nor so bad as the two for *Paradise Lost*. Sterne himself suggested the subject of the first scene: "The loosest Sketch in Nature, of Trim's reading the sermon to my Father &c., would do the Business."⁷ Hogarth has directions aplenty to follow, since Sterne describes at ludicrous length Trim's stance, which is "to make an angle of 85 degrees and a half upon the plain of the horizon."⁸ He has carried out the directions faithfully, but though the group is well composed, he has apparently taken little delight in the task; and in the figure of one listener, Dr. Slop, he has descended to caricature. The second picture is the amusing scene in which Walter Shandy, with his breeches held up by one hand and his nightgown thrown across the arm of the other, bursts into the room just a moment too late to prevent the curate from baptizing his son with the hated name of Tristram.⁹ This picture, like the other, is roughly drawn, but it is more spirited. Even so it shows little invention or imagination, and is merely a reasonably accurate pictorial representation of the text.

What makes Hogarth's failure in this type of art so interesting is that it begs the question, what is the difference between mere illustration and true creation? The answer involves the truth that when a painter regards the representation of the story as his chief task, he immediately excludes himself from the highest art. A useful distinction may be drawn here between painting and music, a distinction which goes far to explain why pictorial illustration is seldom great creative art. The important thing in any work of art is the imagination of the artist. Claudia Muzio, the Italian diva, in addition to singing the notes of the score always colored each tone by the emotion suggested to her by the text, and it was always a completely

⁷Dobson, *op. cit.*, p. 258.

⁸Volume IV, Chapter xiv.

⁹Volume II, Chapter xvii.

individual matter — what she alone regarded as the correct emotion, an interpretation correct for her and for no one else, an interpretation arrived at after immersing herself in music and text. Her singing consequently had an emotional and tonal quality that was unique; it was purely creative and very great art. The composer and the librettist both supply generous indications, but the final experience must depend upon the performer's interpretation, which is therefore creation. Thus two singers can present entirely different interpretations of the same song, yet each equally intelligent and compelling. Since music does not come alive until it is performed, a fine musician can be a creative artist in the highest sense, for the music becomes largely what the artist's imagination makes it.

The illustrator in painting produces something quite different, and, I believe, on a lower level. Illustrating literary texts, an activity dear to the hearts of eighteenth-century painters, culminated in the Boydell edition of Shakespeare, where we see at once how the painter's imagination is subjugated to the story. While the interpretation of the singer or conductor is necessary to bring the musical text into existence, the interpretation of the pictorial artist is merely an excrescence upon the fictional text. If the illustrator is to be accurate he must confine himself to a strict reproduction of the details, which the text usually supplies in abundant fullness. His work is done before he begins, and therefore is largely needless. It is a negative art, except in one aspect where it does positive harm — it may so stamp itself upon the mind of the impressionable reader as to throttle completely his imagination, thus doing immeasurable damage to the very text that it is supposed to enhance. Only in rare instances, like the Cruikshank and Phiz illustrations to Dickens, or Tenniel's to *Alice in Wonderland*, does the artist so thoroughly catch the spirit of the author that we are not actually harmed by his pictures. And I wonder what our reaction even to those illustrations would be had we not come upon them in our first childhood reading of the texts, which are ever after colored by their influence.

Some critics have regarded certain pictorial illustrations as sufficiently imaginative to be high creative art. Yet I venture the suggestion that two famous examples, Botticelli's drawings to the *Divine Comedy* and Blake's to *Paradise Lost*, have certain faults which owe to this same constricting nature of a printed text. Botticelli often crowds several scenes into one drawing, following Dante in his narrative instead of evolving from it separate and complete compositions. Wilhelm Bode, in his critical biography of the painter, has expressed what to my mind is an irrefutable judgment upon these pictures:

This attempt to illustrate the text word for word led him at times into solutions quite unsatisfactory from an artistic point of view, as is especially the case in his representations of Hell and sometimes Purgatory. Even in these he shows as usual his rich imagination and deep feeling, and scarcely ever offends our sense of beauty, but he becomes wearisome in his continual repetition of the multitude of unhappy wretches, wandering hither and thither headless or with faces turned backwards, stuck head foremost into holes in the rocks, being devoured by flames, wading in a sea of fire, or being tormented by fantastic devils. They are depicted not without imagination but wanting in humour.¹⁰

There is a fault too from another point of view: the endless throng of naked figures is sketched without realistic detail or individuality, thus creating an effect of undeniable monotony. Where is the richness of gifts bestowed with such glorious prodigality upon the *Primavera*, of all Botticelli's paintings the most completely removed from mere illustration?

To criticize Blake's Milton pictures, usually so highly admired, may be rash, but we should not be blinded to the truth that Milton's universe is not fundamentally pictorial, and that even a painter so concerned with spiritual values as Blake will do the poet grave injustice. Nearly all the pictures have elements of beauty,¹¹ but only "The Creation of Eve" and possibly "The Temptation" are satisfactory as illustrations. To those who hold that a work of art is more important than an illustration to Milton, that to confront Blake with Milton's text is idle, let it be answered that pictures, according to Blake's own idea of them, usually require a programme, that most of his work lies on the confines of painting and poetry, and that he invites us to view his drawings in relation to a text. It is further true that in his *Paradise Lost* illustrations his imagination has not been tempted to stray very far from Milton's words.

Though his pictures are in a far higher category than Hogarth's two pitiful failures, Blake has made the same mistake that the earthier artist made before him. He has endeavored to set Milton's vast invisibilities before the eye, forgetting that the most notable feature of the poet's landscape is that it has no outline, that it is limitless. It has been often remarked that partly because Milton is blind is his range of poetic vision so vast:

At once, as far as angels ken, he views
The dismal situation waste and wild.¹²

A large part of Milton's effects depend upon what he omits. Blake, as a

¹⁰*Sandro Botticelli*, London, 1925, p. 145.

¹¹I speak of the series of nine in the Museum of Fine Arts at Boston. The earlier series of twelve, which I have not seen, is in the Huntington Library.

¹²See, for example, Basil de Selincourt, *William Blake*, London, 1908, p. 207.

painter, in pointing up one thing to the eye must allow, as framework to his design, other elements to obtrude, elements which the poet pointedly ignores. In fine, like Hogarth he is forced to make corporeal the incorporeal. For this very reason the most successful of the drawings is that which is most simple, in which both grandeur and elaboration have no part. The genius of the conception is expressed by Mr. Philip Hofer in his introduction to the Heritage Press reproductions:

"The Creation of Eve" is in a class by itself. It is one of the simplest, most inspired water colors of all time. There is no dramatic action, no trick of composition to attract one's attention. The whole interest is concentrated on the exquisite form of Eve rising in the air from the body of the sleeping Adam, through a mere gesture of the Almighty's hand. The figure of God has an indescribable dignity. His outstretched arm performs the miracle without the slightest effort, so that no question of its actual occurrence even crosses the onlooker's mind. Therein lies the spell of this, one of the greatest drawings Blake ever made.¹³

Yet, in another scene of simple conception and quiet beauty, "Raphael with Adam and Eve," Blake is forced to represent Milton's grandly exotic description of Eden as mere filagree.

Blake's greatest illustrations, those to the *Divine Comedy*, are described less accurately as illustrations than as interpretations. In these pictures he has achieved what was his constant endeavor but rare accomplishment: he has to a large extent kept his eyes closed against physical impressions (in this case, the details of Dante's text) in his belief that art is spiritual activity, and has yet achieved a convincing exteriorization in drawing. Wilenski has testified that in these illustrations "he has given us not a collection of drawings but one drawing that goes on and on in one continuous progression of vital rhythm which . . . 'transforms physical truth to musical truth'"; that Paul Nash has found in them the reinforcement of his own conviction that "the painter should be concerned not with still-life or scientific imitation but with musical and architectural truth."¹⁴

What one may at first think to be the greatest illustrations in pictorial art — the Biblical paintings of the Italians, of El Greco, and of Rembrandt — are in reality not illustrations at all. Instead they are imaginative variations upon an exceedingly generalized theme. There is very little text to constrict the imagination of the artist. The countless pictures of the Nativity, to take only one subject, spring ultimately from either or both of two passages. The first is from St. Matthew:

¹³New York, 1940, p. xi.

¹⁴R. H. Wilenski, *English Painting*, London, 1945, pp. 258-59.

And when they were come into the house, they saw the young child with Mary, his mother, and fell down, and worshipped him: and when they had opened their treasures, they presented unto him gifts; gold, and frankincense, and myrrh.

The second, telling of the shepherds, is from St. Luke:

And they came with haste, and found Mary, and Joseph, and the babe lying in a manger.

With so little text to confine him, the artist may create whatever his imagination directs. Any timidity or throttling of the creative spirit is likely to be the result of the traditions imposed by earlier painters who have treated the same subject, but to the greatest artists these serve rather as incitement than as stifler to the creative imagination. In several of his Nativity scenes Botticelli, by including portraits of prominent Florentines of his time, indicated to what lengths the painter might go in his creation. To this freedom from a constricting text add the mighty spiritual force that impelled many of the painters of Biblical themes and it is plain why these pictures often transcend mere illustration to become great creative art. In Rembrandt's *Supper at Emmaus*, to take but one example, the emotion and not an illustration is the prime concern of the artist.

In his four great narrative series Hogarth is telling a story, but the pictures are far more than illustrations. The story, always interesting and usually told with quick dramatic economy, is but a framework upon which to hang the many comic and satirical details that fired his imaginative genius. An example and a comparison will serve to emphasize the difference between illustrator and creator, and to bring our discussion to a close. The example from Hogarth is the series of twelve engravings known as *Industry and Idleness*, the least brilliant of the narrative cycles but chosen here in order that it may be compared to the group of paintings with which it has much in common, James Northcote's series *Diligence and Dissipation*.

Hogarth's prints picture the contrasting careers of the industrious apprentice, Francis Goodchild, and his indolent companion, Tom Idle. After the first scene, where they appear together at their looms, the two youths part, the successive stages of their careers being pictured in alternate engravings. In scene ten they meet again long enough for Goodchild, now a judge, to pass with painful reluctance the death sentence upon his old companion, who has become involved in robbery and murder. The eleventh scene depicts the execution of Tom Idle at Tyburn, the twelfth the inauguration of Goodchild as Lord Mayor of London. Hogarth's purpose was to tell a simple story pointing an obvious moral — he himself says so — but his

imagination did not let him stop there. And certainly his intention is of less importance than his accomplishment. The prints are today still vastly entertaining, not because of the trite story or even for the interesting historical notes on eighteenth-century London, but for the animated satirical details strewn with spirited plenitude through nearly all the pictures — the stentorian hymn-singers in the church scene (Plate Two), the grisly irony of the dice game played over the yawning grave (Plate Three), the raucous concert of marrow-bones and cleavers that interrupts the wedding breakfast (Plate Six), and the satire on gluttony at the sheriff's feast in Guildhall (Plate Eight). The execution at Tyburn, one of the best crowd scenes in Hogarth, is crammed with all manner of satirical imagination. As Tom Idle is carted to the gallows he is exhorted by a ranting Methodist screaming Wesley at him; a mischievous tramp is preparing to throw a dog at the two of them; a pious lady raises one hand in benediction over the victim while with the other she conveys a glass of gin to her lips; a female ballad-monger bawls out the "Last Dying Speech and Confession of Tom Idle" while her baby tries to leap over her shoulder with excitement at a fist-fight directly behind; a sly urchin is picking the pocket of the piman while his companion waits to receive the spoils; the executioner is sitting astride the gallows-tree calmly smoking his pipe. It is obvious that the artist's interest goes far beyond merely illustrating a story or inculcating a lesson. Indeed in this scene and the next, the Lord Mayor's procession, the principals are hard to find among the throng.

In his parallel series *Northcote*, a very competent if unexciting painter, has told the story of two servant girls, the one diligent and the other wanton. The idea of presenting in pictures the story of two contrasting careers obviously comes from Hogarth, but the more important inspiration for the career of the virtuous girl and the source of most of the details of her story is Richardson's *Pamela*. *Northcote* does not attempt to conceal that he is merely illustrating Richardson. His heroine is a servant in the house of a handsome young squire who is bent upon seducing her; but despite his ardent persuasions she remains almost militantly virtuous. When he can endure it no longer, he marries her. Another shining example of *Virtue Rewarded*, she is surely the slyest and most self-satisfied lass to appear since *Pamela* herself. *Northcote* has to rely more upon his own invention in depicting the wanton's career, which he attempts to enliven by borrowing several details from Hogarth. For example, the scene where her revels in a tavern are interrupted by the watch is reminiscent of the third plate of *A Rake's Progress*; and the last scene, which incongruously combines the

funeral of the wanton with the marriage of her former companion, draws its mourning alcoholics from the last scene of the *Harlot*, its gambling urchins from the fourth picture of the *Rake* and its cracked tablet from the fifth, and finally the general position of the grave and coffin from the third scene of *Industry and Idleness*. These details lend very little excitement to Northcote's pictures, because while in Hogarth they are important satirical accoutrements to a highly original creation, each a significant ironic commentary upon the principal action, in Northcote they are only addenda to fill up the canvas; he uses Hogarth's pictured story as a literary text in the same way that he had used Richardson's novel.

Northcote's well-painted pictures are devoted entirely to an almost photographically realistic illustration of a story, and are consequently of only mild interest. True, he tells a moderately diverting story in a straightforward if pious manner; but so does *Little Orphan Annie*, a contemporary work of similar sentiment. The painter relegates his feeling and his imagination to a secondary position in order to tell a story in the simplest, most realistic way; the result is mere illustration. In contrast Hogarth gives his imaginative impulse free rein in spite of the story; the result is creation. Comparing the two series reveals clearly why illustration for the sake only of illustration remains a secondary art form; and how the genius of Hogarth achieves its full stature when his imagination is stimulated not by a printed text or by suggestions from other artists, but by Nature herself.

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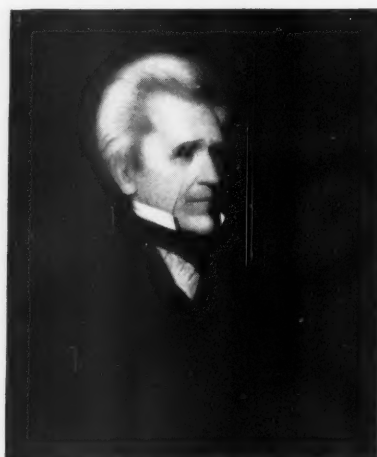
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